

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9825

ANKARA PLEASE PASS TO NATO DEPARTMENT FOREIGN MINISTRY

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: TEXT OF SOVIET STATEMENT IN NOV 28
PLENARY

TRANSLATION OF STATEMENT DELIVERED BY SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AT
NOVEMBER 28 PLENARY FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT:

1. AT THE PLENARY SESSION ON 8 NOVEMBER THE SOVIET DELEGATION,
ON BEHALF OF THE GDR, POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THE SOVIET UNI-
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ON, TABLED A JOINT DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN TABLING OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT
WE SET OUT ITS MAIN PROVISIONS AND GIVE CORRESPONDING EXPLANATIONS.
THE DELEGATIONS OF POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GDR IN THEIR

STATEMENTS ANALYZED THE DRAFT AGREEMENT IN DETAIL AND SHOWED ITS REALISTIC AND CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER SOCIALIST STATES HAVE ALSO SPOKEN IN SUPPORT OF THIS DOCUMENT. IN ALL THESE STATEMENTS THE CONVICTION WAS EXPRESSED THAT THE DRAFT AGREEMENT PERMITS THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO THE PRACTICAL LEVEL AND CONCENTRATED ON THE SOLUTION OF THE SPECIFIC TASK BEFORE US, THAT IS TO SAY ON THE ATTAINMENT OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

2. TODAY, WE INTEND TO PAUSE ON THREE KEY QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTIONS AND REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DRAFT AGREEMENT: THE FIRST QUESTION IS THE TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS SUBJECT TO REDUCTION; THE SECOND IS THE NECESSITY OF SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF NATIONAL AS WELL AS FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS; THE THIRD IS THE SUPERIORITY OF THE METHOD OF REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS PROPOSED BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

3. IN THE FIRST PLACE, IT MUST BE ONCE MORE EMPHASIZED THAT THE ARMED FORCES OF NATO AND OF THE WARSAW PACT IN THE AREA OF FUTURE REDUCTIONS CONSIST OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL GROUND FORCES, AIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING UNITS AND DETACHMENTS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW -- AND WE HAVE ALREADY POINTED THIS OUT BEFORE -- ALL THE ABOVE-MENTIONED COMPONENTS BELONGING TO EACH PARTY FORM IN THEIR TOTALITY A SINGLE COMPLEX IN WHICH THE VARIOUS TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS INTERACT CLOSELY. IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT ONE CANNOT ASSESS THE COMBAT CAPABILITIES OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF THE PARTIES OBJECTIVELY BY TAKING ONLY ONE OF THESE COMPONENTS IN ISOLATION.

4. IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WHICH NOW EXISTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAS TAKEN SHAPE HISTORICALLY IN THE COURSE OF A PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME. EACH OF THE PARTIES HAS ASSESSED THE REQUIREMENTS OF ITS SECURITY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE OBJECTIVE FACTORS, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCEEDING FROM THIS HAS DETERMINED THE WAYS AND MEANS OF SAFEGUARDING IT. THE PARTICULAR PROPORTIONS BETWEEN THE SEPARATE TYPES OF THEIR ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS HAVE BEEN FORMED IN A CORRESPONDING WAY. AT PRESENT, A RELATIONSHIP HAS COME TO EXIST BETWEEN THE ARMED FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WHICH TAKEN AS A WHOLE ASSURES THE SECURITY OF THE PARTIES ASSURED. THIS IS NOT ONLY OUR ASSESSMENT.

5. OVER THE COURSE OF A NUMBER OF YEARS LEADING WESTERN POLITICIANS HAVE REPEATEDLY OBSERVED THAT EQUILIBRIUM EXISTS IN THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE BETWEEN THE FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. MCNAMARA, MINISTER OF DEFENSE IN THE GOVERNMENTS OF PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON, SPEAKING IN THE U.S. CONGRESS' SENATE COMMITTEE

ON THE ARMED SERVICES AS LONG AGO AS 1968, DECLARED: "I CONSIDER THAT NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT HAVE ROUGHLY EQUAL CAPABILITIES IN GROUND FORCES." U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS, SPEAKING IN THE NEW YORK PRESS CLUB IN APRIL THIS YEAR, SAID: "IN CENTRAL EUROPE, NATO DISPOSES OF ROUGHLY THE SAME NUMBERS OF ARMED FORCES AS THE COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT." ON 25 JULY THIS YEAR, U.S. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE RUSH DECLARED IN THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS: "IN CENTRAL EUROPE, NATO DISPOSES OF ROUGHLY THE SAME FORCES AS THE WARSAW PACT ORGANIZATION." AT A SESSION OF THE U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON 27 JULY THIS YEAR, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SCHLESINGER OBSERVED: "NOW THE SITUATION IN EUROPE IS FAIRLY STABLE. WE WOULD LIKE TO KEEP IT THAT WAY." SUCH STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE NOT ONLY BY U.S. OFFICIALS. ON MIGHT MENTION, FOR EXAMPLE, THE STATEMENT OF THE FRG MINISTER OF DEFENSE, LEBER, WHO SAID IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE WEST GERMAN NEWSPAPER, DIE ZEIT, ON 8 JUNE THIS YEAR, SPEAKING ABOUT THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE: "THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES CAUSES ME NO CONCERN, AND I CAN SAY WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE THAT WE CAN FEEL CONFIDENT." THERE EMERGES FROM ALL THIS A DEDUCTION WHICH IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS: OVER A LENGTHY PERIOD OF TIME THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAS BEEN CONSIDERED AS ASSURING A DEFINITE STABILITY. SUCH A CONCLUSION -- AND WE WOULD LIKE TO DRAW PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THIS -- HAS BEEN MADE ON THE BASIS OF ASSESSMENT NOT OF ANY SINGLE COMPONENT BUT OF THE ENTIRE COMPLEX OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF WHICH THE COUNTRIES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT DISPOSE IN THE AREA IN QUESTION.

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6. IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT SO LONG AS ONE DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO DISTURB THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITH THE AIM OF OBTAINING UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES, THERE NEED BE NO GROUNDS FOR OBJECTING THE SUBJECTION OF ALL TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THIS AREA TO REDUCTION. THIS IS WHAT IS ENVISAGED IN ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TABLED BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

7. NO ONE CAN DENY THAT EACH OF THE COMPONENTS WHICH GO TO MAKE UP THE ARMED FORCES HAS AN IMPORTANT INDEPENDENT SIGNIFICANCE IN THE GENERAL BALANCE OF THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN THIS AREA. ONE CANNOT, THEREFORE, REDUCE ANY SINGLE TYPE OF ARMED FORCES OR ARMAMENTS WITHOUT AFFECTING THE OTHERS. IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS IT IS INDICATED THAT "AT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE QUESTION OF THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS WILL BE EXAMINED," AND NO EXCEPTION WITH RESPECT TO INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF THESE FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IS PROVIDED FOR.

8. DESPITE THIS, WESTERN DELEGATIONS, BASING THEMSELVES ON THE CONCEPT PUT FORWARD BY THEM IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OF SO-CALLED "DISPARITIES", ARE TRYING SO TO ARRANGE THINGS AS TO CONFINE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO A SINGLE TYPE OF ARMED

FORCES -- THE GROUND FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. MORE-
OVER, IT IS PROPOSED TO CARRY OUT EVEN THIS REDUCTION IN SUCH A
WAY THAT THE FORCES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD BE SUBJECTED
TO GREATER REDUCTION THAN WESTERN FORCES. ON CAN HARDLY RECOGNIZE
SUCH AN APPROACH AS REALISTIC.

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9. ONE CANNOT SPEAK SERIOUSLY OF THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AS WAS AGREED AT THE PREPARATORY
CONSULTATIONS, WHILE LEAVING OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF A FUTURE
AGREEMENT SUCH IMPORTANT FORMS OF THEM AS AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, THE MORE SO IN THAT THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE IS A PLACE
OF HIGH CONCENTRATION OF THESE FORMS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.
IT IS KNOWN THAT IT IS UNITS AND SUB-UNITS OF AIR FORCES AND OTHER
KINDS OF FORCES EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT ARE THE MAIN
STRIKE MEANS OF CONTEMPORARY ARMED FORCES. HAVING ENORMOUS FIRE
POWER AND HIGH MOBILITY, THEY POSE THE GREATEST THREAT FOR THE
DENSELY POPULATED AREAS OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

10. IT IS NOT HARD TO SEE THAT REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES ALONE,
AS PROPOSED BY THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS, WOULD LEAD TO INCREASING
THE RELATIVE WEIGHT AND ROLE OF AIR FORCES AND UNITS AND SUB-UNITS
ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MOREOVER, THE POSSIBILITY OF THE FUR-
THER GROWTH IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OF THESE DESTRUCTIVE FORMS
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OF ARMS WOULD BE PRESERVED. THIS COULD ONLY STIMULATE THE ARMS RACE AS FAR AS AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE CONCERNED. OBVIOUSLY, THIS WOULD CONTRADICT THE VERY OBJECTIVE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH ARE INTENDED TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY DETENTE.

1. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF REDUCING FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASISE AGAIN THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AS IS INDICATED IN ARTICLE 1 OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, ADVOCATE THE SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF BOTH THESE AND OTHER FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

12. FROM THE MILITARY-STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW, SUCH TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS OF EACH OF THE COUNTRIES CONSTITUTE AN INTEGRAL WHOLE. NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AS IS WELL KNOWN, CLOSELY INTERACT WITH ONE ANOTHER, FORMING IN ESSENCE INDIVISIBLE COMPLEXES. MOREOVER, THE RELATIVE WEIGHT OF THE NATIONAL FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THESE COMPLEXES IS VERY GREAT. THIS IS ALSO CONFIRMED BY OFFICIAL DATA. IN HIS SPEECH OF 10 JULY THIS YEAR, U.S. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE RUSH ANNOUNCED THAT IN CENTRAL EUROPE THE ALLIES OF THE U.S. HAVE 25 OF THE 29 NATO DIVISIONS. AS REGARDS THE ARMED FORCES OF THE FRG, AS HAS ALREADY BEEN STATED HERE, THEY COMPRISE ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF THE NATO FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTION.

13. ONE ASKS THE QUESTION, WHY SHOULD SUCH SIGNIFICANT PARTS OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THE NATIONAL TROOPS BE LEFT OUT OF REDUCTIONS, OR THEIR REDUCTION BE SET ASIDE FOR SOME INDEFINITE TIME? IT FOLLOWS FROM SUCH AN APPROACH ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES THAT THE MOST NUMEROUS FORCES OF NATO WOULD NOT COME UNDER REDUCTION. FOR THIS REASON THE APPROACH ENVISAGED IN THE DRAFT TREATY OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - THE SIMULTANEOUS CARRYING OUT OF REDUCTIONS OF BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS EQUITABLE AND OBJECTIVE.

14. SUCH AN APPROACH IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS ON THE EXAMINATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE QUESTION OF THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. EVEN THE CIRCLE OF STATES-PARTIES TO FUTURE AGREEMENTS HAS BEEN DELINEATED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT ALL ELEVEN STATES OUGHT DIRECTLY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, I.E. TO REDUCE THEIR

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FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE AGREED REGION.

15. BOTH IN THE POLITICAL AND IN THE MILITARY FIELD IT IS IMPORTANT IN PRINCIPLE THAT ALL OF THESE GOVERNMENTS, FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, SHOULD SHOW IN PRACTICE THEIR READINESS TO START OUT ON THE ROAD OF REDUCING THEIR ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AND BY SO DOING TO ACHIEVE THE REMOVAL OF THE DANGER OF WAR, AND THE DEEP-

ENING OF DETENTE IN EUROPE. MOREOVER, THE INCLUSION OF NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE PROCESS OF REDUCTIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH FOREIGN FORCES WOULD MEAN THE ENDING OF THE GROWTH OF BOTH CATEGORIES OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND WOULD LEAD TO THE REDUCTION OF THE BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

16. WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO PAUSE ON THE ADVANTAGES OF THE MEVG OF REDUCING ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS PROPOSED BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL PARTIES. THIS METHOD ENVISAGES THAT REDUCTIONS OF ALL FORMS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN, WOULD BE CARRIED OUT ON AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE BASIS. BOTH IN THE POLITICAL AND IN THE MILITARY RESPECTS, EMPLOYMENT OF THE METHOD OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD PUT ALL PARTICIPANTS IN A FUTURE AGREEMENT IN AN EQUAL POSITION, AND WOULD BE IN THE GREATEST DEGREE CONSISTENT WITH THE INTERESTS OF ASSURING THE SECURITY OF ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

17. IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, AS IS KNOWN, THERE IS ALSO ENVISAGED THE CARRYING OUT IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR 1975 OF THE REDUCTION OF THE FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT ON AN EQUAL QUANTITY BASIS - BY 20,000 MEN WITH CORRESPONDING ARMAMENTS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT FROM EACH SIDE. THIS DOES NOT HARM THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY AND GIVES NO ONE MILITARY ADVANTAGES.

18. IN THIS WAY, TO SUM UP, ONE CAN STATE THAT THE APPROACH OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION WHICH RECEIVED ITS CONCRETE EXPRESSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT AGREEMENT PROCEEDS FROM THEIR DESIRE TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITH STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL STATES PARTICIPANTS IN THE AGREEMENT.

19. THE PROGRAM OF CONCRETE PRACTICAL STEPS OF THE REDUCTION OF
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ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD PERMIT SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN THE PRESENT HIGH CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE CENTER OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, WHICH WOULD FURTHER MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE.

20. WE WISH TO SAY IN ALL CANDOR THAT EVEN PRELIMINARY ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CONTENTS OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE SEVEN WESTERN COUNTRIES PRESENTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE U.S. ON 22 NOVEMBER SHOWS THAT THESE PROPOSALS PROCEED FROM UNFOUNDED AND UNACCEPTABLE CONCEPTS DIRECTED AT OBTAINING ONESIDED MILITARY ADVANTAGES. THESE PROPOSALS TAKE ABSOLUTELY NO ACCOUNT OF THE APPROACH SET OUT IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

21. OBVIOUSLY, ONLY MUTUAL CONSIDERATION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTIES, STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES AGREED AT THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS, AND, ABOVE ALL, OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMIN-

ISHED SECURITY WILL PERMIT US TO LAY DOWN THE PATH TO THE ACHIEVE-
MENT OF THE GOAL OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS -- THE REDUCTION OF ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WE HOPE THAT JUST SUCH AN
APPROACH WILL BECOME THE COMMON BASIS ON WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE
TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECISION.
END TEXT.HUMES

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